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Christmas and the World's Cry for Peace

BY DR. WILLARD UPHAUS *

Christmas has a profoundly new significance this year for me. The people of Europe cry for peace, a supreme necessity growing out of the anguish of war.

With sixty-two other Americans, I attended the Second World Congress for Peace held in Warsaw, November 16-21. Two thousand and sixty-five delegates gathered from eighty nations, of varied race, nationality, color and political belief in passionate quest for peace. The British government rebuffed the Congress but Frédéric Joliot-Curie, in his opening address, declared: "Nothing can prevent triumph of the idea of justice and peace."

In Paris we visited the Palace of Peace upon which hundreds of delegates converged in their movement toward Warsaw. Some from fascist countries in South America would return to their homes at the risk of their lives. In Brussels the Belgium Peace Society blessed us for our part in the Congress. A Belgian student resented America's part in the rearmament of Germany: "Why should we join the Germans who have attacked us twice, in fighting the Russians who have never attacked us?"

After the British rebuff, a gigantic airlift put us over the so-called iron curtain and turned a temporary defeat into tremendous intercultural exchange between East and West. After a visit in Prague we entrained to Warsaw. Word flashed through the land the peace train was passing through. Cities were adorned with banners, railroad engines decorated, stations packed with thousands of eager youth, who surged to the train windows to shake hands and get autographs. Bands played. Throngs sang. All receptions were spontaneous outbursts. Later we saw the ruins in Warsaw, especially the ghetto, mark of Nazi bestiality, and could understand.

Of the delegates, 445 were women; 59 members of Parliaments, 49 scientists, 116 writers and poets, 196 university faculty members, 72 clergymen, 194 representatives of national and international bodies, 284 professionals, including technicians, engineers and doctors, 12 military, 121 industrial and rural workers, 47 small businessmen, 101 students, 222 white collar workers, and 220 belonging to various other professions and occupations. The average age was 33. One hundred twenty addresses made by the representatives of the nations were translated into nine different languages.

1. Prodigious labors of seven committees produced findings of profound significance.

2. The deep purpose of achieving maximum unanimity was impressive to all. There were striking examples of compromise (both East and West) to word resolutions that all national groups could support.

3. This was a Congress of Peoples. One of its greatest creations was the Appeal to the United Nations. It states, "The United Nations is not fulfilling that great hope reposed in it" (peace) and "this is because it has disregarded the only path to universal peace: search for general agreement."

(a) Calls for cessation of hostilities, withdrawal from Korea of foreign armies, and peaceful settlement between the two parts of Korea.

(b) Condemns rearmament of Germany and Japan.

(c) Calls for end of violence employed to hold people in dependence and colonial subjection.

(d) Defines as aggressor that state first using armed force, under any pretext, against another state, and declares no political, economic or strategic consideration, no pretext based on a state's internal situation, justifies armed intervention.

The Methodist Federation for Social Action, an unofficial membership organization, seeks to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solutions; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without special class or group discriminations and privileges.

(e) Holds propaganda for new war constitutes grave threat to peaceful cooperation of peoples, and demands it be liable.

(f) Calls for a competent International Court to examine the crimes committed during the war in Korea.

(g) Presents "for the consideration of the United Nations, of all parliaments and of all peoples, unconditional prohibition of all manner of atomic weapons, and of bacteriological, chemical, poisonous, radioactive and all other devices of mass destruction."

The Congress appeals, "with equal earnestness, to the great powers and calls upon them to launch, during 1951 and 1952, a gradual, simultaneous and similarly proportional reduction of all their land, sea and air armed forces."

The recommendation for disarmament is framed with meticulous care that no nation be disadvantaged.

"Controls . . . are technically possible," the Congress holds, to be all inclusive, of all weapons. Controls and inspection may apply to "suspected" as well as "declared" military forces, existing armaments and arms production.

4. Of 72 distinguished religious leaders, a number addressed the Congress. In separate sessions they formulated a peace statement based upon Christianity. I presided when Metropolitan Nickolai, head of the Russian Orthodox Church, deplored that man at the height of his productive power should use science to create horror instead of welfare. "Standing before the God of my faith," he likened the movement for peace to flood waters that cannot be stopped.

Catholic priest Gaggero from Genoa, speaking courageously on his own, declared: "In Italy the people want peace. There is no religious separation when it comes to war. With responsibility to Christ, we will no longer be slaves to hate. We can resolve the problems of hunger and need. The eternal collaboration of all people is here. We must stand before the Crucifix for Peace."

I stated: "In Protestantism, there is a growing movement for peace, merging with other peace forces in our country. This great tradition of peace inherited from the Bible takes on new meaning; in this new religious consciousness and feeling of moral obligation, a tremendous potential for peace."

5. The resolutions reveal hunger for friendly understanding and cooperation. The Congress saw rupture of economic relations as a source of conflict and a menace to peace, asked for normal commercial relations between the different countries, based on mutually advantageous conditions that satisfy people's needs. It urged intercultural relations through exchanges in science, literature, the arts and the organization of visits to other countries. The Soviet Peace Society was first to invite such visitation. Nineteen Americans and fifteen Australians visited the Soviet Union for ten days. It may be my privilege later to report what we saw and heard and felt.

Warsaw will be felt to the ends of the earth. This rising tide for peace is partly responsible for the hysteria of our military-monopoly cabal. Here is a voice the threat of atomic bomb will not still. The long-suffering, war-weary peoples of the world are sick of financial burdens of armaments, senseless destruction and the insane mass murder of innocent people.

We Americans were frightened and depressed at the universal feeling of the delegates that the fate of the world rests largely in our hands. Abbe Jean Boulier, distinguished French Catholic leader, said to me: "Your country can be either a curse or a great blessing." This is why Christmas is for me not so much a time of joy as of prayer and deep foreboding.

* Dr. Willard Uphaus, Exec. Director, Nat'l Religion & Labor Foundation; member MFSA Exec. Committee.

The United Nations Commission Reports on Korea

Quotations are from *United Nations Commission on Korea*.

Facts reported by this Commission deserve careful consideration if the Korean war is not soon spread into global war—greatest catastrophe mankind could suffer. We owe it to those who died in Korea and to the many who die if the war continues and spreads, to act with knowledge of all relevant facts. Emphasis is on facts not widely known. Reading excerpts is no substitute for reading in full the *UN Commission on Korea Reports*.*

WHENCE DIVISION OF KOREA AT 38TH PARALLEL?

"After receipt Japanese offer surrender, nearest American troops at Okinawa and Soviet troops in Korea, the U. S. proposed Soviet troops accept surrender north of 38th parallel and Japanese troops south surrender to Americans."

WHAT IS ORIGIN OF THE PRESENT CONFLICT?

"Artificial division of Korea and failure of occupying powers to agree."

WHAT OF KOREA PRIOR TO ALLIED VICTORY IN 1945?

"From 1910 until 1945 Korea formed part of the Japanese Empire. Denied economy to serve own needs. Resources geared completely to Japanese war machine."

AFTER ALLIED VICTORY HOW WAS COUNTRY ADMINISTERED BY OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES?

"In North, Soviet authorities promptly ousted Japanese administration, established one based on network of People's Committees."

"Prior to entry U. S. forces, a People's Republic was set up September 1945, following a congress in Seoul of local representatives from all Korea. This People's Republic under well-known Lyuh Woon Hyung, claimed authority. U. S. authorities did not recognize this, established in its place military government retaining Japanese officials."

"U. S. authorities replaced outgoing Japanese personnel almost completely with Americans."

WHAT GOVERNMENT WAS SET UP IN SOVIET OCCUPIED NORTHERN HALF OF KOREA AND HOW?

"On network of People's Committees Provisional People's Committee established February 1946. During summer ground laid for elective government based on local People's Committees."

"Elections for People's Committees November 1946; 4,501,813 persons, 99.6% of electorate, participated. United National Democratic Front polled 97%. Result of pre-electoral discussion, there was one list of candidates. Representatives from People's Committees assembled February 1947, approved legislation by Provisional People's Committee, adopted national economic plan, established National Assembly of Northern Korea. 237 members: Labor 89; Independents 90; Democratic 29; Chondo-Kyo 29."

WHAT OF THE FIRST ELECTIONS UNDER AMERICANS?

"November, 1946, South Korea elections were indirect election (in which the voters were unable to vote directly for the candidates) to select one-half of the membership (45) of interim legislative assembly, the other half appointed by military government. Rightist parties—won nearly all seats."

"Election reported accompanied by coercion and other questionable means. Leftist candidates handicapped by police."

HOW DID U. S. MILITARY AUTHORITIES THEMSELVES REGARD SYNGMAN RHEE?

"U. S. Command inclined toward coalition around Mr. Rhee, until his inflexible, extreme rightist position provided no basis for stable representative political combination."

HOW MUCH POWER DID THIS FIRST SOUTH KOREAN LEGISLATURE HAVE?

"Assembly declared competent enact ordinances only when concurred in by the Military Governor who could dissolve the Assembly, approve new members, require new elections."

WHAT WAS POLITICAL COMPLEXION AND CHARACTER OF AMERICAN-SPONSORED REGIME?

"The parties of the right have the influence in South Korea."

"Many extreme leftists arrested for alleged violation laws and ordinances. By 1948 major organizations of extreme left underground. Significant is position of Director National Police."

"Moderates maintain both in South and North Korea there is no free press, information, assembly, association, movement, protection against arbitrary arrest and detention, or protection against threats of violence and violence. Non-existence, *habeas corpus* in South Korea. Restrictions prevent meetings of more than three without permit, for which application must be several days in advance. Chief Justice stated 'any Korean is at merey of police.'"

WHAT DID NORTH KOREAN REGIME ADVOCATE?

"Constitution provides Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Legislative authority in Supreme People's Council. Members chosen in universal, equal, direct elections by secret ballot. Local government based upon elective people's committees in provinces, cities, counties, sub-counties and villages. Natural resources, transport and communications, electric power, banks, 'important enterprises' and all properties formerly owned by Japan or 'national traitors' are property of the State. 'Land shall only be held by those who till.' Private ownership of medium and small industrial and commercial enterprises, of land 'under provision of law' and of personal possessions 'shall be guaranteed legally.' Mr. Kim Kiusie (South Korean moderate rightist) stated 'Constitution adopted at People's Assembly was draft of many possible later drafts for united Korea.'"

WHAT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN SOUTH KOREA?

"Currency inflation—continuing shortages—wage increases did not keep pace with the rapid rise in prices. Bank of Chosen index figures for South Korea in December 1945 and January 1948 were reported as follows: (1936=100) Wages from 2,564 to 18,715: prices from 6,964 to 149,381!!!"

WHAT WERE LEFTIST ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEMANDS?

"Implementation labor and social insurance laws, raising wages, increase rice ration, confiscation land from landowners and free distribution to farmers. Movement caused sporadic outbreaks of violence in six provinces. Director National Police, February, 1948, reported 8,479 persons arrested."

HOW DID SOUTH KOREANS REACT TO U.N. SPONSORED ELECTIONS IN SOUTH KOREA ALONE?

"Korean Independence Party (rightist) considered such election would perpetuate division of Korea. This view shared by moderate parties of National Independence Federation."

"Parties and organizations of left consistently held no election should be held except by agreement of Koreans in both North and South and under Korean auspices only. If, contrary to this opinion, election were held under observation of the United Nations Commission in South Korea alone, moderate or leftist elements would not participate. Result, government of rightists would perpetuate artificial division."

"Rightist Hankook Democratic Party and followers of Syngman Rhee—were strongly in favor of an election in South Korea with temporary assistance of what Mr. Rhee termed a 'small token force' from the United States, could organize its own defense and in time, given support of world opinion and the United Nations, unify Korea."

SOUTH KOREAN GOVERNMENT ELECTED MAY, 1948, CLAIMED JURISDICTION ALL KOREA. HOW DID U.N. COMMISSION RESPOND TO THIS CLAIM?

"The Assembly is not qualified by its mandate alone to establish a national government of Korea."

* We also recommend the highly authoritative "Korea Today," by Professor George McCune, a Harvard Publication available on loan from the *MFSA Library*.

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

At this season of peace and good will one recalls the words of the ancient prophet: "They say peace, peace, when there is no peace." He could mean the words of our bi-partisan foreign policy makers and the work of their hands.

"We seek peace through the cold war, the bomb, the dollars." They spent dollars without stint. They made more and better bombs. There is no peace. Only more-war.

"We want peace and are righteous. But these other evil minded men will not accept our terms. We must get 'positions of strength,' arm the West to teeth, rearm Western Germany, and Japan, support colonial powers where subjects rebel; arming, and sending military missions to anti-democratic governments." Biggest of them, whom our White Paper proved inefficient, corrupt and repressive, gets kicked out, we keep it in U.N. to vote with us. Then, when our "strength" is sufficient, we can negotiate, that is, impose our will. Sept. 10 Acheson said: "With modern weapons and ingenuity we can do exactly what was done for many centuries at time of Roman empire. It depends upon strength of the organization, superiority of your weapons." Pax Romana; Pax Britannica; now Pax Americana? History, confirming Jesus, shows no peace imposed by force can stand. U.N. sanction makes no exception.

Peace, our cold war policy makers cry. Facing military disaster and urgent pleas of their main allies, they refuse to negotiate Formosa on which peace or war with China depends. "Limited negotiation" means discuss Korea but not Formosa. Religious declarations concerning Korea have neglected moral nature, or consequences of unilateral invasion of China's territorial waters of China, intervention to prevent conclusion of civil war, and our air and naval use of Formosa. Peace with China depends upon the future of Formosa. We pledged that the island would be returned to China. Only this will be accepted by China. Behind their attitude is the long desire to be free from Western interference and domination. Until Formosa is back in real China's hands there will be no peace.

"Limited negotiation," its twin proposal, is "limited war," blockade and naval bombardment of China, encouragement via Formosa of counter-revolutionary activity on mainland, like our early relations with U.S.S.R. As Korea has shown, by the logic of military necessity, and the division the cold war has made in the world, China and U.S.S.R. have an assistance pact. No war with China could be long limited. This is more certain by our war preparations and their effect in creating the war mind: laboratories with war work that in two years will produce more terrible destruction than Hitler could unleash; universal military training Association of Universities favors; indoctrination of school children with hatred against communists and communism; national emergency advocated on "psychological" grounds; conditioning of atom bomb defense planning with no religious counter effort to remove possibility of such attack; vested interest created in capital and labor ranks by war production. Peace, they cry. But there is no peace.

Peace by way of war preparations? Israel's song writer long ago knew better: "He maketh wars to cease unto the ends of the earth. He breaketh the bow and cutteth the spear. He burneth the chariot." It is time for religious leaders who dismissed the cry of millions who wanted outlawry of weapons of mass murder to ask themselves through whom the God of the psalmist is working today. H. F. W.

FORMOSA

"In the Joint Declaration at Cairo, the President of the United States, the British Prime Minister, and the President of China stated that territories Japan had stolen from China, such as Formosa, should be restored to China.

"The U. S. was signatory to the Potsdam Declaration which declared terms of Cairo should be carried out. The provisions were accepted by Japan.

"The U. S. has no desire to obtain special rights or privileges or military bases on Formosa . . . nor any intentions of utilizing its Armed Forces to interfere. The U. S. will not pursue a course to involvement in the civil conflict in China. The U. S. Government will not provide military aid or advice to Chinese forces on Formosa." —President Harry S. Truman January 5, 1950

"The Chinese have administered Formosa for four years. Neither the U. S. nor any other Ally ever questioned authority of that occupation. . . . The World must believe that we stand for principle and that we are honorable and decent people and that we do not put forward words as propagandists do in

other countries, only to throw them overboard, when some change in events makes the position difficult for us. . . . Therefore, we are not going to use our forces in connection with Formosa." —Secretary of State Dean Acheson

"I shall not favor sending a single American boy with gun in hand to Formosa to settle a civil war six thousand miles away from home." —Senator Tom Connally

"The case for military intervention in Formosa really rests on the argument that we should wage an undeclared war against China." —Walter Lippman

"We think such action would incur the grave risk of war." —Wall Street Journal

"What are fundamental attitudes of Asian peoples, basic facts in Asia? The Asian peoples for the past several decades have been engaged in a revolution, to throw off poverty and oppression of past centuries . . . striving for independence, better education, more widespread ownership of land, and control over their own destiny. Their goals and our goals are the same. The American people have been leaders in a revolution . . . by the common people. . . . A new era is in full course in Asia. . . . The reason the change is irrevocable is that it is brought by a deep, revolutionary movement of the peoples of Asia. . . . The American people will remain as in the past, friends of the Chinese people. . . . We do not intend to tell them what ideologies or form of government they should have. We do not intend to engage in any aggressive adventures against them."

—From *United States Policy Towards Asia*
an address by Secretary Acheson
March 15, 1950, San Francisco

METHODIST PEACE COMMISSION

At its annual meeting November 16-17 expressed opposition to the McCarran Act, U.M.T., Military Control of Civilian Authority, R.O.T.C. Units in Methodist Institutions, Acceptance of War as inevitable or Advocacy of Preventive War, Exclusion from the United Nations of nations with whom we disagree, continued refusal to recognize the People's Republic of China, and "an attitude among Western Nations which has had too little concern for the economic health and security of the hungry peoples of the Orient."

CHAPTER ACTIVITIES

Excellent news from chapters and members will be reported in the January BULLETIN.

In a recent Ohio field trip and series of addresses by the Executive Secretary, two new chapters were initiated—one at Oberlin and the other at Miami University. If your or your chapter would like a visit from the Secretary or other M.F.S.A. representative in the next few months, let us know possible dates and details. E.J.

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THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION

IN LATE AUGUST, 1948, ANOTHER GOVERNMENT—WHAT OF THOSE ELECTIONS AND THEIR RESULTS?

"Broadcasts reported 93 per cent of the population in North Korea had taken part and 212 North Korean assemblymen elected. One thousand and eighty representatives from South Korea met in Haeju in North Korea and elected 360 South Korean assemblymen. These 572 assemblymen constituted SUPREME PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY."

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The U.N. Commission never functioned in North Korea or recognized its Government or approved its claims. Nor have North Koreans or leftist South Koreans supported the Commission. They contend Koreans do not need more foreign supervision, and can manage their own affairs.)

HOW DID KOREANS REACT TO FOREIGN TROOPS?

"Rightist parties, with exception of Kim Koo's Korean Independence Party, considered U. S. forces essential. Mr. Kim thought all foreign troops should be withdrawn to permit a general election throughout Korea in a free atmosphere. Moderate and leftist parties demanded simultaneous and immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea."

HOW DID OCCUPYING POWERS REACT TO REQUEST?

"U. S. Commanding General Hodge: 'My nation does not want to keep troops in liberated Korea one day longer than necessary to keep our promises to the Koreans.' . . . Soviet Commanding General: 'U.S.S.R. has necessary arrangements made for immediate withdrawal of its troops from Korea.'"

UNDER WHOSE AUTHORITY THERE HELD SEPARATE ELECTIONS WHICH BROUGHT INTO BEING THE SOUTH KOREAN "REPUBLIC OF KOREA"?

"Commanding General, U. S. Army in Korea, announced elections in territory under his command May 9, 1948."

HOW FREE WAS THE PRESS UNDER RHEE?

"Press Law, from 1907, obsolete and repressive, still in force. Newspapers operate under directives issued by Office Public Information, which works closely with President (Rhee). Forbidden: (1) Articles contrary to policy Republic of Korea; (2) Articles detrimental to Republic; (3) Articles approving or protecting Communist Party and North Korean 'puppet' regime; (4) Articles reporting false facts for agitation; (5) Articles reflecting relations Republic with friendly Powers and hurting national prestige; (6) Articles agitating public with excitable news detrimental on public mind; (7) Articles betraying secrets. Government closed seven important newspapers and one news agency September 1948 to May 1949; in all cases but one arrested members respective editorial staffs. *Seoul Shinmun*, largest daily in South Korea, closed by Government order."

HOW MUCH POLITICAL FREEDOM UNDER RHEE?

"Government arrested Legislature members charged with offenses against National Security Law (which) makes a crime to group together to disturb tranquility of the State. Propaganda to achieve aim of such organizations is punishable."

"Republic on war footing brutalized government conduct and engendered suspicion of those independent and critical of spirit."

WHAT ABOUT FREEDOM FOR UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ITSELF, WHICH HAD BEEN MIDWIFE AT THE BIRTH OF THE RHEE GOVERNMENT, AND FOR SOUTH KOREAN CITIZENS COOPERATING INDEPENDENTLY WITH THE COMMISSION?

"Government disapproved Commission consulting personalities outside Government without consent."

"Author of one petition, Mr. Kim Yak Soo, a Vice-President of the National Assembly, and five National assemblymen who accompanied him (to U.N. Commission), were arrested."

"Government arrested as members of a subversive party, five Korean journalists who attended Commission."

IN HIS DECEMBER 2, 1950, ADDRESS TO CONGRESS, PRESIDENT TRUMAN STATED THAT IN KOREA "THE ISSUE WAS NOTHING LESS THAN SURVIVAL OF FREEDOM". THE PRESIDENT ADDED: "WAS GIVING DEMONSTRATION TO PEOPLES OF ASIA OF ADVANTAGES OF LIFE IN INDEPENDENT, NATIONAL, NON-COMMUNIST STATE." DOES FACTUAL RECORD PRESENTED BY U. S.-BACKED U.N. COMMISSION, BEAR OUT THESIS? THAT FREEDOM HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED BY THE SYNGMAN RHEE GOVERNMENT AND BY AMERICAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT WHICH PRECEDED IT? WHAT ABOUT THE POLICE AND YOUTH CORPS UNDER THE RHEE GOVERNMENT?

"Police, carried over from Japanese regime, exercised defense functions. Estimated strength of Police about 60,000 . . . armed with carbines, tommy guns, machine guns, most American. 1949-50 budget allocates Ministry of Home Affairs over 15 billion won. . . . Police played primary role in suppression large-scale disorders."

"National Youth Corps founded December, 1948, under chairmanship (sic) of President Rhee (!) by merger of all previous youth groups. Youth Corps platform professes fervent devotion to Republic and its President (Syngman Rhee). It is recruiting agency for Army. Seventy per cent Army recruits are Youth Corps members. Programme trains Youth Corps along military lines. Voluntary police activities by Youth Corps continue."

WHAT WAS MILITARY SITUATION IN KOREA PRIOR TO THE OUTBREAK OF WAR IN JUNE 1950?

"In South Government hastened pace military preparations U. S. military personnel were advising and training Republic's Forces, as on the other side of the parallel military personnel of the U.S.S.R. were reportedly performing like services."

"There is much military posturing on both sides."

"The border is becoming the scene of increasingly frequent exchanges of fire and of armed raids."

WHAT ATTITUDE DID THE SOUTH KOREAN GOVERNMENT TAKE TOWARDS TRADE?

"Government unwilling cooperate efforts Commission."

"April, 1949, trade with North Korea prohibited."

"Ban on trade a serious impediment to unification."

WHAT ATTITUDE HAS SOUTH KOREAN GOVERNMENT TAKEN TOWARDS NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREANS LOOKING TOWARDS PEACEFUL UNIFICATION OF KOREA?

"Government opposed any suggestion conference."

"Government made clear it would not participate in official discussions looking for unification. It views suggestions for North-South discussions, even unofficial and tentative, as form of disloyalty."

"Government underestimated hold on people of Korea of idea Korea's difficulties could be overcome if leaders of North and South would sit down together and seek common answer."

"These events tended to fortify 38th parallel as barrier to friendly intercourse of people of Korea."

HOW STRONG AND WIDE WAS POPULAR BASE OF THE SOUTH KOREAN GOVERNMENT?

"Government basis in popular support is too narrow, faces 38th parallel at head of divided people."

"Republic labors under political division. Government made no effort to heal breach."

FOLLOWING OUTBREAK OF WAR, WHAT RECOMMENDATION WAS CABLED FROM U.N. COMMISSION IN SEOUL TO SECURITY COUNCIL BUT NEGLECTED?

"In view Commission's past experience, Commission suggests Security Council consider invitation both parties agree on neutral mediator to negotiate peace or request a Member Government undertake immediate mediation."